*613 office in modern Bedouin society. Also, we will return to
178 the processes of fission and fusion when we discuss Bedouin
598 law. I will be able to show through the use of legal documents
•[194] how one tertiary unit went through a process of fission, fusion and re-fusion with its secondary unit.

The capacity for fusion and fission is a result of a number of structural situations. First of all, it is the exercise of choice on the part of the tertiary segment members who have contracted alliance in the form of collective responsibility with other tertiary segments of the lineage. The choice to break off from the major group may be of two kinds: a severence of political ties with one group in favor of a new group or the natural process of segmentation as a response to ecological conditions. In the latter case, no new political alliances are formed, and it usually involves a married son going off to begin his own camp. It is only an expansion of the major or secondary group. But the former case is one of decimation: the secondary group contracts. In both cases, authority is exercised, either between father and son, or,
*613 between heads of corporate groups. In al-Qasr, the capacity
598 for either type of fission is limited by the political en-
179 vironment of the Egyptian nation-state, the highest level
178 of authority which the Bedouin encounters. The classic functioning of the segmentary lineage system is, in the case of al-Qasr, being changed by extra-system factors. The

*613 of lineage segmentation, ties based upon any of the structural principles may obtain, but they are not ritually legitimated by the principle of blood responsibility. A functional corporate group cannot be defined beyond the secondary level. The Bedouins of al-Qasr make an explicit distinction between a group which is 'asaba and one which is not. The term 'asaba derives from the verb, "to bind," and is translated as "paternal relations" or "agnates." The tertiary and secondary segments are considered to be 'asaba. Only these segments can be represented by an 'aqila.

[666] *613 196 •174 682 The 'aqila, the focus of authority in the corporate tertiary group, is an elected head. The concept of 'aqila is itself an expression which entails mutual support and collective responsibility: the concept of 'aqila is equivalent to that of corporate group. Wehr (1961) translates the word 'aqila as "a clan committed by unwritten law of the Bedouins to pay bloodwite for each of its members." In pre-Islamic Arabia, the 'aqila must have been "the juristic personality" (Weber 1954:157). In early Islamic Arabia, we know the penal codes of the ancient schools of law came to differentiate between the offender (i.e. the individual) and the 'aqila (i.e. the group) concerning the payment of blood-money. During Umayyad times, the 'aqila was the group listed on the diwaan (account books), and was considered a tribal grouping of some order which was responsible for paying the diiya

*613 (Schacht 1953:207).
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• 174
682

So, in pre-Islamic Arabia and later, the 'aqila and not the culprit was responsible for payment of the diya or for retaliation. And the 'aqila, which means every single corporate member, risked its life in the face of retaliation from without. According to Islamic law, only the killer may be retaliated upon. But in pre-Islamic Arabia and in al-Qasr, any member of the killer's corporate group may be revenged upon. The Bedouins say that revenge should be taken upon the best man of the family, for this will cause the most damage. Both the legal schools of Madina (Maliki) and Kufa recognized the principle of self-help, or collective responsibility, for payment or retaliation in cases of homicide and wounding. And, according to Coulson (1964:49), "they both called the group which shoulders the burden the 'aqila."

*613 The 'aqila in al-Qasr, which is an uncentralized system, is a corporate sole and a political office. It functions both in internal domestic (i.e. within the tertiary segment) authority relations, and at the level of external authority relations. The 'aqila is a symbol of his corporation and, as such, speaks for its members in matters of social regulation and the enforcement of political decisions growing out of conflict situations. Political order in al-Qasr depends [591] upon the values inculcated and the type of authority exercised within the corporate group (Southall 1956:27). The model of

613 definite political advantage. In the second case in which the female
619 name was used, the husband was a member of the Bara'asa tribe of Libya.
551 Although this tribe is one the powerful tribes of Libya, it has no
599
554 political influence in the Egyptian Western Desert. Changing affiliation carried with it the strong political support of the mother's tribal segment.

619 In general the Reds occupy the western half of the coastal area of
131 the Western Desert from the town of Matruh westward to the Libyan border, while the Whites occupy the eastern part which stretches to Alexandria. The Senenah are fairly scattered although their largest concentration is located in the extreme western part overlapping that of the Reds. The territorial division of the area among the three major sections of Awlad Ali is not a strict one. Historical evidence shows that there has been
• [194] a considerable tribal displacement throughout the area. This displacement occurred mainly during the intratribal war era and during the Second World War when the area was a main battlefield. In general, however, there is a significant relationship between territorial distribution and tribal segmentation, and this is especially true on the higher levels of segmentation than on the lower ones.

619 Each of the three sections of the apex of a three-tiered order of
613 segments which, following the native usage, will be called Kabila (tribe), Eila (family), and Bait (house).

619 The first order referred to as tribes are structurally equivalent
173 units but of highly variable size. Each of them has its traditional history. Some of these histories are important to the tribe as a whole.

619 778 184 682 627 628 the negotiator has to have behind him the full weight of his tribal segment. Since the origin of the Gemei'at tribe as a Murabiteen tribe is well known, any negotiator has to rely almost entirely upon his own skill to affect any settlement; even if he is able to affect such a settlement, there is no guarantee that it will be permanent.

619 792 The Murabiteen bil-baraka and Murabiteen bil-sadaqa occupy the same position as vassal groups. The only difference between the two is that the first, the religious men, are much more respected than the latter. They are feared by the other tribes because of the belief that they have direct contact with the religious and spiritual world and can harm those who dare to offend them in one way or another. Because of this factor [627] [628] and of their neutral position with regard to the rest of the tribes, they play an important role in mediation and dispute settlement.

619 184 174 792 The origin of inferiority of the Murabiteen tribes in general is hard to account for. Kenneth (1925) believes that hundreds of years ago the Murabiteen were essentially the holymen. They learned to read and write the Qoraan and grouped themselves around the "zawias' which were the centers of learning and religion. While indulging in their religious practices their flocks ere grazed miles away in the open desert under the charge of the Sa'adi shepherds, who originally were the poor paid workers of the Murabiteen. These shepherds, living out in the open, were busy fighting away the raiders attempting to steal their flocks. As time passed the Sa'adi shepherds became not only tough fighters but also wealthy. This latter end was achieved partly as a result of successful raids on neighboring tribes. Later when the Sa'adi planned a large raid, they entrusted their flocks to the Murabiteen, who by that time had become dependent upon the Sa'adi for their protection from the raids of other tribes.

619 The picture was reversed then with the poor Sa'adi shepherds becoming
184 the masters, acquiring great wealth and prestige because of their fight-
174 ing ability, and the holymen becoming the shepherds and clients of the
792 Sa'adi fighters. In the old inter-tribal wars, the Murabiteen stood a
[651] very limited chance so the Sa'adi tribes adopted them and in return for a yearly tribure guaranteed theprotection of the Murabiteen from external aggression.

As time passed, the main difference between the Sa'adi and Murabiteen tended to diminish. One or two outstanding Murabiteen tribes fought their own battles without seeking the protection of the Sa'adi and remained independent, while a few others rose up and fought on with the protector against a common foe (the case of the Gemei'at tribe is an example) and in return were emancipated from the stigma of serfdom and accepted by the Sa'adi as almost equals. Other Murabiteen tribes remained attached to their Sa'adi protector as client groups.

Ibn Khaldoun also saw the inferiority of the Murabiteen tribes as stemming from a mode of tribal relations adapted to inter-tribal warfare (1845).

613 <u>The Eila</u>

The Eila represents the next level of tribal segmentation among the Awlad Ali. The Eila is the most important political unit. Although the Eila lacks any formally recognized leadership, its importance stems from the fact that it constitutes the vengeance group or Amar El-Dam (unity of
613 the blood). This means that it bears a corporate responsibility for the
672 actions of its members. Anyone of its members can be killed in vengence
682 for a homocide committed by any other, and the duty of revenge for any

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

EMRYS PETERS

[P.363]

18. *The Proliferation of Segments in the Lineage of the Bedouin of Cyrenaica [Libya]*[1]

In this article I do not propose to discuss the genealogies of the Cyrenaican Bedouin in full, but only such aspects of them as are strictly relevant to an understanding of their process of growth. Many other aspects of these genealogies will be referred to, and indeed, some of the arguments put forward will presume an acceptance of views which cannot be developed adequately in this article. A fuller and more general account of Cyrenaican genealogies is in preparation, and, until this is published, there is no alternative to the somewhat dogmatic statements about them which appear in the introductory part of this article.

The Bedouin of Cyrenaica claim that they are all descendants of a unique ancestress, Sa'ada. Writers in the past (e.g. Robertson-Smith 1903) have considered the occurrence of female names in patrilineal genealogies as evidence of an earlier and matrilineal mode of descent. A more satisfactory explanation of the occurrence of female names is to be found in the combination of two facts: descent in the patriline, whether or

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[1] My field work among the Cyrenaican Bedouin was made possible by an award from the Emslie Horniman Fund and a later award from the Treasury Committee for Studentships in Oriental Languages and Cultures. I wish here to express my indebtedness to both committees for their generosity. Much of the work I have done on genealogies was included in a thesis presented for the degree of D.Phil. at Oxford University in 1951. The ideas included in this thesis I developed more systematically in a course of lectures on the Bedouin which I gave at Manchester University during the session 1953–54. I subsequently read papers around the problems discussed in this paper at Oxford and Cambridge Universities. I am grateful to Professor Gluckman for reading this article in manuscript, and for the numerous discussions I have had with him on problems relating to lineage organization.

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

not male names are used, is assumed; and secondly that the Bedouin are polygamous. If, then, half-brother differentiation or full sibling unity is to be shown genealogically, the obvious way in which this can be done is to use a maternal name in the genealogy. Thus, in the Cyrenaican genealogy, a number of tribal groups will be shown as sons of a particular father. If differentiation of these groups needs to be shown, this can be effected by clustering the groups round, say, two female names (the names of the respective mothers) thereby making the two clusters of groups stand in the relationship of paternal half brothers. The concept of the 'one womb', of maternal origin, is a critical one in the context of social cohesion, but it does not deny patriliny; on the contrary, it serves in a sense to reinforce it. Female names can be used to show a greater notion of cohesion than the mere use of male names, and the significance of a female name placed at the apex of the Cyrenaican genealogy is that it is the symbol of full brother unity at the highest political level.

The founding ancestress Sa'ada is credited with two sons, who in turn are considered to be the founding ancestors of the two largest groups of tribes in Cyrenaica. Each of these sons is said to have begottten two sons, as shown on the accompanying genealogy. The next generation shows a total of nine names, and these nine ancestors are considered to be the founding ancestors of the nine noble tribes of Cyrenaica.[2] Continuing the line of descent of one of these tribes—the Magharba—the same pattern of segmentation repeats itself: the tribe is divided into two primary sections having ar-Ra'aid and ash-Shamakh as the respective founding ancestors. Ash-Shamakh is said to have had four sons, and these are the founding ancestors of four secondary sections. These latter four are credited with a varying number of sons, as shown in the genealogy (Fig. 18-1).

One feature of the Cyrenaican genealogy immediately stands out from this brief description: the uniformity in the number of segments at the various levels of segmentation. Along the line of descent from Sa'ada to Nasr, the number of sons shown in the

[162] [2] One of these, the 'Ailat Fayid, now only numbers about 150 souls, and although it is given the structural position of a tribe in the genealogy, it scarcely merits this distinction in practice.

Cases

582 583 613 602 of agnation on the members of a corporate group and give it a taproot of diversity whence it derives its strength, and which makes of it "the one body," conspicuous, in comparison with other societies, as the corporate group *par excellence*.

The Sister's Son-Mother's Brother Relationship

128 Previously the mode of relationships associated with agnation and affinity have been briefly discussed. In order to appreciate the effects of parallel-cousin marriage, some remarks concerning the sister's son-mother's brother set of relationships must be included here. Bedouin contrast the mother's brother with the father's brother; their sayings and proverbs afford a wealth of verbal documentation on the contrast. With the mother's brother a man enjoys all the freedoms he is denied in his relationships with his father and father's brother. He is permitted to joke with him; they indulge in exchanges of obscenities. When the sister's son wishes to marry, he is permitted to discuss the matter with his mother's brother and can urge him to intercede with his father on his behalf. Two men thus related are readily recognised in the camps, because in their acts they are required to show affection by displays of innocent horseplay, pranks or mild practical jokes. Small boys pursue their mother's brother, feign to kick or strike him, and he takes it all in good part.

604 [174] [831]

The external aspects of this behaviour is deceptive. Joking of this sort creates the image in which the relationships are conceived; what is equally striking in it is its compulsiveness. Obviously, mature men are not always in the mood to be teased, but if they are, they must respond appropriately. Their relationships are unmistakably onerous. This remark applies not only to the external forms of their behaviour, but also to the favours a man is permitted to ask of his mother's brother. A brief amplification will make the point clear. Demands can be made of agnates, but only in situations of serious contingency. Day-to-day needs are met, not by appeals to the rights of agnation, but from the expectations linked to the mother's brother. If these expectations are withheld, the sister's son may be left in a quandary. Interestingly, in the records of homicides I gathered, three (in the contemporary population) were concerned with the killings of mother's brothers by sister's sons. Homicide within this field of relationship is difficult to comprehend unless it is appreciated that expectations are as compulsive in the daily life and the general well-being of people as are the rights and duties associated with agnation.

[602] 604 682

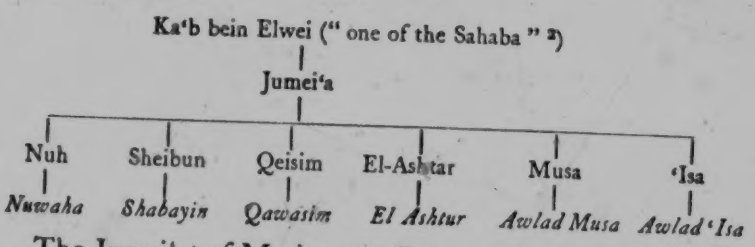
604 613 These general remarks apply to the relationships irrespective of the lineage origin of the mother's brother. The similarity ends there, since the nature of the expectations, their urgency at any given moment and the kind of favours which are granted vary with the group identity of the mother's brother. A mother's brother who is a member of ego's corporate group may be expected to give the sister's son small quantities of flour, favour him in all

[428]

9: Murray E. K-3, 4 (ca. 1910-1935) 1935 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Egypt

to Dib by Ibn Khaldun, who calls Dib a descendant of Ka'b, the great-grandson of Suleim.[1] If this be true, the Jumei'at must be an elder branch than any of the Sa'adi tribes, among whom the Awlad 'Ali are included. But in actual fact, the Awlad 'Ali do not consider the Jumei'at as of Sa'adi origin, that is, descendants of Abu Dib and his wife Sa'ada, but despise them as Murabitin or vassals, though they pay no tribute.

All this may be interpreted to mean that they are among the oldest inhabitants of Western Egypt. They have been in Egypt "seven hundred years" according to one of their sheikhs, Sa'ad Bey el-Masri, and a pedigree given me by another, Sheikh 'Ilwani Suleiman, who lives near Sidi 'Abd el-Rahman, runs :



The Jumei'at of Mariut are all descended from El-Ashtar, while the offspring of the other five sons are settled in Beheira, Gharbiya, and at Ramla near Alexandria.

It is, of course, possible that their eponymous ancestor, Jumei'a, was an Arab of Beni Suleim descent, who returned to Egypt from the "Green Mountain", soon after the Beni Suleim invasion, and whose descendants became Murabitin by forming themselves into a religious community. But such religious fervour is not a Bedouin characteristic, but smacks rather of the fanaticism of the recently-converted, so I suspect the Jumei'at, in spite of their descent from Ka'b, to be mainly a remnant of the earlier Libyan population of the coast.

Prior to the arrival of the Awlad 'Ali, they were "Mrabit" to the Beni 'Una, and engaged in constant conflict with the Hanadi. Upon the rout and annihilation of the Beni 'Una, the Jumei'at were stirred up to revolt against the Hanadi by one of their holy men called Baqush. Outraged by their

[1] The more ignorant Awlad Suleiman have forgotten Ka'b's paternity, and confused him with the famous Arab poet Ka'b ibn Zuheir. See p. 287 for their version. And yet another Jumei'i version gives as their ancestor the Saint Ka'b el Ahbar.

[2] The "Friends" of the Prophet.